THE POWER OF KINGS,

PARTICULARLY

The BRITTISH Monarchy

Asserted and Vindicated,

IN A

SERMON

Preached at

WAKEFIELD

IN THE

County of YORK

Sunday, *October* the 30th, 1681.

By WILLIAM CLIFFORD, *A.M.*

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TO ALL
LOYAL SUBJECTS.

Gentlemen,

BEing about to Publiſh this Sermon, I could not bethink my ſelf how to make a more ſeaſonable Dedication of it, than to You All: being you are equally concerned, both as to Your Sacred, and Civil Intereſt, to maintain that greateſt of Priviledges which Herein I have endeavoured to defend. That the Well-being of this Church and Kingdom depends upon this, Every one knows; and I hope, we need not be admoniſhed to look to the Corner-Stone. What it is that ſome Men would have, God Almighty only, and Themſelves (if Themſelves) do know: however it is to be wiſhed, that whilſt They are decrying of Ours (without doubt the Beſt of Governments

ments) *for* Tyranny, Oppreſſion, *and* Popery, *They be not buoying of Theſe up in the World, and bringing of Them in* (*which God avert*) *under the Mask of* Faction.

May the Great GOD of Heaven and Earth ſay *Amen* to this Sermon, and Crown theſe mean Eſſays; by making of all Thoſe, whom Nature hath made, and the Law of Nations declared, His Majeſties Subjects, truly Loyal. *Which, as it is the hearty Prayer, ſo ſhall it be the ſincere and perpetual Endeavour of,*

Gentlemen,

Your hearty Well-wiſher,

WILLIAM CLIFFORD.

THE POWER OF KINGS

Asserted and Vindicated.

PSAL. 51. ver. 4.

Against thee only have I sinned——

SInce it is become one of the great Masterpieces of our Incendiaries, to magnifie the Power of the People, to break open the Cabinet of State, to push forward the heady and raging Multitude, with fictitious Devices; and to promote that Diabolical Dialect, of *Speaking evil of Dignities*; I shall this day make it my business, to undeceive such as have been misled by those false Fires.

Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods; nor ſpeak evil of
Exod. 22. 28. *the Ruler of thy People*, ſaith *Moſes*. *Curſe not the*
Eccleſ. 10. 20. *King, no not in thy thought*, ſaith *Solomon*. And a *greater than Solomon* was obedient to *Cæſar*. Two of the Twelve Apoſtles bear record, that there cannot be a ſurer note of a Schiſmatick, than to *deſpiſe Dominion*, and to caſt Dirt in the face of our Natural Lord.

It is not only the Voice of our Law, but we likewiſe have the unanimous Aſtipulation, and Suffrages, of the Laws of God, Nature, and all Nations; *That a* KING (being *Deo ſecundus, ſoloque Deo minor*,) *can do no wrong*; that is, no wrong for which he can be accountable to any but God, being only his (and not the Peoples) Vicegerent. And that I may evince this (I hope) beyond contradiction, I have made choice of Holy *Davids* Caſe, as being the moſt appoſite (to the beſt of my Judgment) of any that I could meet withal.

What St. *Hierom* hath obſerved in the front of many of the *Pſalms*, (which he probably had out of *Origen*, with whoſe Volumes his Juvenile Studies abounded; and *Origen* confeſſeth, that he had it by Tradition from the *Jew* his Maſter;) is undoubtedly true: *viz. Titulum Pſalmi eſſe Clavem*, That the Key of each Pſalm is the Title. Which, if we do conſult, it directeth us to the Second Book of *Samuel*, the 12*th* Chapter, where we find the Prophet *Nathan*, in his Meſſage from God to *David*; reproving him for his Sin in the matter of *Uriah*. Whereupon the relenting Prince (being filled

filled with the aggravating Circumstances of so great a Crime) presently falleth into that Pious Confession, in the 13*th* Verse of that Chapter; *I have sinned against the Lord.*

And, as if that had been too small a Pennance, upon second thoughts (which are always presumed, to be the most sound and searching) he composeth this Psalm; sighing out his *Miserere mei Deus, Have mercy upon me, O God: for against thee only have I sinned.*

In doing right to this Text, I shall omit the Glosses of some later Expositors, especially those of the *Geneva*-Faction; and that I may the more exactly shew you, what was the Judgment of the Primitive Christians in this weighty Point of Allegiance; I shall cite the *Councils*, and *Fathers*, as being the surest Witnesses in this Particular: and having been approved by the Universal Church of Christ, no good Man can have the least occasion to doubt of their Fidelity. And to these Testimonies, I shall add the Judgment of the immortal *Hugo Grotius*, to whose Books, and Memory, for his Opinion in this Point, all the Princes of Christendom do owe Protection.

And that these things may be the more perceptible, I shall move in this most easie, and natural Method. Wherein I shall shew,

1. *That the Defection of Nature is so universal, that even Kings can plead no Immunity from it, no Privileage against it.*

2. *That althô the Depravity of Nature be general; yet it is the Sacred Priviledge of Kings only for their Offences, to be exempted from all Humane Jurisdiction.*

3. *That such are the Impetuosities of the Vulgar, that notwithstanding this Sacred Reserve, Majesty it self can scarce any where be inviolable.*

4. *That since the Persons, and Power of Kings are esteemed Sacred, both by the Laws of God, Nature, and all Nations; I shall exhort all Men, that they be to the utmost of their Power careful, not to violate so great a Priviledge.*

1. *That the Defection of Nature is so universal, that even Kings can plead no Immunity from it, no Priviledge against it.* The Empire of Sin, after the Fall of Man, was so general, that no Man can be excluded, that will not deny himself to be *Adam's* Off-spring. And thus we have the great Apostle of the *Gentiles* asserting, that *in Adam all died*: And Holy *David* confessing, *In sin was I conceived, and in iniquity did my Mother bring me forth.* But it is needless to insist upon Particulars, when as the Wise Man hath included all in his Parenthesis, *There is no Man that sinneth not.*

1 King 8.46.

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The Nature of this Proposition is such, as you hear it is universally granted: therefore needeth it no further Proof. Neither will any one be so simple as to go about to exclude Princes from it, till that day approach, when both They and We (Mortality being laid aside) shall be equally exempted. Till then both Gratitude and Interest, oblige us to cover the Faults of our Superiours. And therefore I shall proceed to shew,

2. *That althô the Depravity of Nature be general; yet it is the Sacred Priviledge of Kings only, for their offences, to be exempted from all Humane Jurisdiction.* In the former Proposition we have seen, that they by whom the Actions of Men are weighed, and upon whom *Præmium & Pœna*, the two Hinges of all Law do turn; are not able so far to smother the *Embryon* of Original Depravity, but that it will (in spight of the utmost care and vigilance) burst from the Seed to the Fruit, into actual Impiety and Transgression. But yet for all this are they not in the least liable to the Censure of any Man; No Tribunal under Heaven hath power to take cognizance of them, or call them into question. The Prophet in our Text, tho a King, confesseth his Transgression: but it is with Reserve of Justice unto none, but to him, whom alone he owned Superiour; and therefore he crieth, *Against thee only have I sinned.*

That some of our Moderns might evade this plain sence of the Text, they have invented one, which as they think will do the business. Namely, that

that *David* sinned in a double respect; One, as a King: Another, as a Private Person. (If these be not the Notions of *Forty Eight* let the World judge.) As he was a Private Person (say they) he was offensive to his Neighbour, as well as to God, having been injurious to *Uriah*.

To which I answer: *Davids* Repentance here, was either Feigned or Sincere; Feigned it could not be, as appears by the circumstances; neither will they suppose it. And if Sincere, how cometh it to pass, that in his Confession, he hath no respect to his injured Neighbour? But here lieth the bottom of the business; If they could juggle the World into a belief, that *David* sinned as a Private Person, then the unavoidable consequence would be; That he must be obnoxious to that Law, which he had offended: and no Man is ignorant, that the punishment of that Sin whereof *David* was guilty, was Death, by the *Mosaical* Statute. What is this, but to seek a pretence for Regicide?

That *David* was injurious to *Uriah*, I do fairly and readily grant. But, that he was a Private Person, neither They, nor all the World will ever be able to convince me, it being not only absurd, but impossible. To say, that such a one is a King, and a Private Person too, is a flat contradiction, which can never be reconciled: for wherever the one is, it is impossible for the other to be there also, at one and the same time.

But whether *David* were Private, or no, this was not the thing they aimed at; which was, that he might be liable to Terrestrial Punishment: and then,

then, whatſoever looked (tho never ſo ill) like an Argument, muſt be brought to maintain it.

Thus do Men become the Patrons of Error, and render themſelves contemptible to all diſcerning Perſons. *David* was no Private Perſon after he was Anointed: this was nothing therefore, but a diſtinction they had invented, and fitted for their purpoſe: and either it (as I have ſhewed) or our Logic muſt be falſe. Let them ſhew us one Example, and it ſhall be enough, of any Law, either Divine, or Humane, of any Civilized Nation in the World that owneth it: but this they cannot, being only ingaged to their own crazed Heads for it.

David was a King, and as ſuch, was (as other Kings) above the Law. Kings have Power to diſpence with the Law at their pleaſure: Neither is there the ſevereſt Puniſhment the Law can inflict, but it is in the Power of the King to remit it; of this *David* could not be ignorant: nay, he ſeems to imply as much here; and by how much the more he knew himſelf exempted from the *Moſaical* Law, by ſo much the more earneſt here he ſeemeth to be with God for a Pardon, to whoſe greater Tribunal only he could be accountable. And of this his Earneſtneſs, the Original is a ſufficient witneſs, wherein the Pronoun is twice repeated; *Againſt thee, thee only have I ſinned.* לך לבדך חטאתי׃

But I haſt to be more particular, wherein I ſhall undertake to prove, That

For Subjects to queſtion the Actions (tho Offenſive) or the Authority of their Princes, is a thing that

that is most clearly Repugnant to Primitive Custom: Inconsistent with the nature of the Kingly Office: And Diametrically opposite to the Liberty of the Subject.

1. *It is Repugnant to Primitive Custom.* That which Men call Religion, will in no wise allow the Prerogatives of Kings to be called in question. Thus the thing was amongst the *Hebrews:* when they requested for a *King to rule over them,* like as other Nations had, the Prophet answereth them, that *they should have a King; and that their King should take their Wives and Children, their Servants and Cattel, for his use and service;* as you may read at large *Sam.* 1. 8. But that which is very observable, is, that the Prophet in the whole description of that their King, who we know was none of the best, never so much as setteth the least bound or limitation to his Power, maketh no observations of the extent of his Authority. Whereas, if either this, or any other of the Precedent, or Succeeding Authors of the Old Testament, had but made any cases of Resistance or Restraint; I make no question, but the *Antimonarchical* Spirits of these Times would have been diligent in the search, and discovery of them. But so far was this from the business of *Samuel,* and the rest of the Prophets; that they enjoyn Obedience (even to the worst of Kings) tho it be not only to the hazard of Goods, but Life. And we do find it twice pronounced (to make the Obligation greater) concerning one of the most Insolent, and Unjust, of all their Kings; *Who can lift up his hands against*

Gods

Gods Anointed, and be guiltless? That Golden Sentence of the Psalmist therefore must of necessity have a like Relation to all Rulers; *Touch not mine Anointed.* And as the Law, so the Gospel, runneth high concerning Majesty. Our Saviour prohibiteth us from doing any man Injury or Injustice: but much more must we pay that Reverence, and Respect to *Cæsar*, which himself paid, and commanded us to do the like. You will never find him controverting the Actions of *Cæsar*, or his Delegates; but willingly submitting to whatsoever they imposed: as you may clearly see in the Case of *Tribute*, wherein he proved to St. *Peter*, that such as were Freeborn were not liable to Taxation: *Nevertheless* (saith he) *lest we be troublesom, go thou to the Sea, and taking up a Fish, in his mouth thou shalt find a piece of Money, that give them for thee and me.*

1 Sam. 24. 7. & 26. 9.

Psal. 105. 15.

Nay, so far was Christ satisfied of the Power of the *Roman* Emperour, that he suffered Death upon the Sentence of *Pilate* the Governour; not because he wanted Power to make Resistance, as *Porphyrius*, *Julian*, and some others, did vainly affirm against the Primitive Christians: but because he would not in the least seem to make any Exception from that General Rule of *Obedience to Superiours*, that he had laid down; for otherwise, (as he said) he could *pray to his Father, who could send him more than Twelve Legions of Angels*, to be his Assistants, and to rescue their Sovereign Lord, and Creatour, from the violence of that hour.

Thus alſo we find the Diſciples treading in their Maſters ſteps, St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*, thoſe two great Doctors of the Circumciſion and Uncircumciſion aſſerting this Royal Prerogative; *Submit your ſelves unto every Ordinance of Man*, (ſaith *Peter*, whatſoever ſome of his Succeſſours have to
1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15. ſay to the contrary) *for the Lords ſake, whether it be unto the King, as Supream, or unto Governours ſubſtituted by him, for the puniſhment of Wickedneſs and Vice, and for the praiſe of them that do well: for ſo is the will of God, that in well-doing ye may put to ſilence the Ignorance of fooliſh men.*

Anſwerably hereunto S. *Paul* clearly evinceth the neceſſity of *Obedience* to Supream Powers; telling us, that *ſuch are ordained of God; for which very*
Rom. 13. *reaſon* (ſaith he) *ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake; for he that reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.* But notwithſtanding all this, our Enemies keep rubbing up the old Sore, and in defiance of all our Perſuaſions, and good Councils to the contrary, they will underſtand St. *Paul*, better than he underſtood himſelf. Juſt in another Caſe, like to *Andreas Althamerus*, who having taken up an Opinion prejudicial to Obedience, and Good Works; and being not able to reconcile it with the Doctrine of St. *James*, doth fairly therefore give St. *James* the Lie, in a Book printed, ſince Mr. *Calvins* Reduction of *Geneva*, at *Strasbourg*. So they tell us, that they are willing to Obey Powers, could they have ſuch Powers as the Apoſtle meant of, when

when he writ this Epistle. Wherein, alas, they are miserably mistaken, for the Apostle writ this Epistle to his *Romish* Converts, when they were under the Government of a Cruel Heathen Emperour. Thus easily can Mens Fancies lead them to assert they know not what: Both They and We have the greatest cause to bless God, that we are not under such a Power as then was.

And that which claimeth the next degree of our Assent, after our Saviours Doctrine, and the Apostles, is the Suffrage of the Universal Church, together with the Practice of Primitive Christianity, the best (if not only) Interpreter of the New Testament. He that consulteth these, will find them unanimously asserting the Proposition we have now in hand. And what good Laws were made for securing the Royal Rights of Kings, I shall refer the more, Intelligent to read in the Universal *Code*, wherein you have the Four General Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*; with the Five Primitive Synods, of *Ancyra*, *Neocesaria*, *Gangres*, *Antioch*, and *Laodicea*; all which have been all along received, and approved, by the Universal Church of Christ.

And as this was the Opinion of the whole Catholick Church, so doth it still remain, (and long may it do so;) there being no one Church in the known World asserting otherwise; nor any sound, and sober Member of any Church, as far as I was ever able to learn: Except a few deluded Creatures in the Church of *Rome*, and a handful of Zealous Fools in the Reformed Churches, who

have made themselves ridiculous, and contempt.ble, in the Eyes of all thinking, and judicious Persons; by asserting that, which the uninterrupted Opinion, and Universal Practice of the Christian Church for Fifteen Hundred years, and upwards, hath flatly contradicted. And whether the Judgments of a few, and those (it may be) for the most part Ignorant; or the Opinions of Thousands, who (for their great Piety and exemplary Loyalty) are of precious Memory; be in a Case of so great moment as this, to be preferred, he must have abjured his Reason, that cannot easily distinguish.

However it be, we need go no further to learn Loyalty, than our own Church. All the Laws of this Realm, both Sacred, and Civil, do teach us what it is. The Oath of *Fidelity*, (which I suppose) most Men have taken, is sufficiently plain, and obligatory; to which I remit you. And let any Man consult that, together with his own Interest, and Safety, and then let him be Disloyal, if he can.

Neither did any of the Ancient Fathers recede one jot from the Apostolical Doctrine, and Practice. *It is the greatest wickedness in the World, to resist the Supream Power*, saith *Clemens* in his Constitutions. *And tho you blast our Fame* (saith *Tertullian* speaking to the *Romans*) *by saying, we are Injurious to Majesty, yet can you find no such Man amongst us; for tho we have filled not only the Country, but the Court, yet are we averse to Rebellion. Our Saviour hath taught us, and*

Tertul. *ad* Scapul. *& in* Apologeticis *sæpissimè.*

St. Peter

St. Peter *hath taught us* (saith *Nazianzen* against *Julian*) *not to resist Lawful Authority*, (meaning the Emperour,) *but rather to suffer; it is lawful for us to flee, our Saviour hath permitted it, so did St.* Athanasius, *so did St.* Cyprian; *neither have we any other Remedy left us, but Prayers and Tears.* And when an Emperour offered Violence to some of the Christians, what Pious Advice doth *Ambrose*, writing to *Auxentius*) give them: *Beware* (saith he) *of any weapons, but your Tears; with these you may, but with any other you may not resist.*

Nazianz. *Orat.* 1. *adversus* Julian.

Ambros. *lib.* 5. *Orat in* Auxentium.

And that which will be the glory of the Christian World, to the end of the World, as it will likewise be the shame of those that contrived, and acted that Tragedy, an indelible Example of Christian Patience, is that of the *Theban* Legion; which consisted of near Seven Thousand Christian Souldiers, who being in the Field, and having their Swords drawn in their hands, and of sufficient Power to defend themselves, and rout the Forces of the Emperour; yet suffered themselves quietly and calmly to be Martyred, rather than to obey the severe and unmanly Edict of *Maximian.*

I might give Examples in every Century down to these very Times, and I might have done it without going far from home. It is not long since the whole Church of *England* was Martyred in the Cause of her Sovereign Lord. Let those who were the Designers, and the Actors of that Unevangelical Zeal, live unparallel'd, and die unpitied!

pitied! But I shall content my self, and (I hope) satisfie every Honest man, and modest Christian, with that which St. *Chrysostom* hath said upon the words of St. *Paul*, Rom. 13. *Wherefore ye must needs be subject, whosoever ye be, tho an Apostle, Evangelist, Prophet, or whoever else, you must needs be subject; for, if Christ and his Apostles* (saith he) *thought it requisite to be subject to Pagan, how much more requisite then must it needs be, to be subject to Christian Princes?*

Besides the Fathers, I promised you the Judgment of the Immortal *Grotius*, who hath been miserably misunderstood by some in this Point: no man ever yet having asserted, and defended the Prerogatives of Kings, with such strength of Antiquity, such sober, solid, and substantial Arguments, as that Learned Man hath done. And his Observation (amongst many others of great worth) is this; "That the Gospel is a more exact Rule, "and a more pure Institution than ever yet ap- "peared in the World, and consequently doth re- "quire a more perfect and intire Patience, and O- "bedience; and therefore we cannot without great "Sin, and the highest Injury to our Blessed Lord, "and his Gospel, recede from that exact Obedi- "ence which he hath enjoyned, and whereof he "hath made himself our Example. And how he "behaved himself, the Apostle is the most credible "witness, who telleth us, that *he did no Sin, nei- "ther was Guile found in his mouth; that when "he was reviled, he reviled not again; that "when he suffered he threatned not, but committed "himself*

Grot. *de jur. Belli, &c. lib. I. cb. 4. fusissimè; & in Annotat. Sacris passim.*

1 Pet. 2. 21, 22, 23.

"*himself to him that judgeth righteously, in all* "*things leaving us his Example, that we should* "*tread in his steps.* Thus *Grotius.*

And as the Law of *Moses*, the Gospel, and the Laws and Practice of all Christian Nations; so the Law of Nature, and all Civilized (tho not Christian) Nations, do assert this Truth: whereof *Plato*'s Books of his Common Wealth are an ample Testimony. And in the Twelve Tables (which are believed to be of *Grecian* extract, *Greece* having furnished all the Heathen World with Laws, as it is probably supposed,) which contain the Fundamentals of the Old *Roman* Law, *Crimen læsæ Majestatis* is the first, as being a guilt of the highest nature.

Hitherto we have seen what Primitive Custom hath for this Assertion. It appears by what hath been spoken, that we must be so far from questioning the Royal Prerogatives, that we are obliged both by the Law of God, Nature, and all Nations, to vindicate them though it be with peril of life. And if our Superiours should Command us any thing (as God forbid they should) contrary to any of these Laws, you hear what is enjoyned us; We must lay our hands upon our Mouths, and suffer with that Meekness which becometh our Profession, remembring the Examples of our Saviour and the Primitive Christians, whereof I have given you a full (and I hope satisfactory) account. However, I am assured that I have spoken the Judgment of the best, and purest Ages of Christianity;

anity; neither can any thing be found in contradiction to this Doctrine in all the whole Life, Actions, or Sufferings of Christ; nor in the constant and unerring Practice of the Primitive Christians; nor in any of the Writings of the Apostles, or Apostolick Men. I proceed therefore to shew,

2. *That for Subjects to question the Actions (tho offensive) or Authority of their Princes, is inconsistent with the nature of the Kingly Office.* The Scepter is put into their hands by God Almighty alone: and with that the Power he giveth them is so great, as that he maketh them capable of being accountable to none, but Himself only; Thus he saith, *By me Kings Reign.* Of this Power King *Solomons* Sentence is very absolute, *Who shall say to a King, what dost thou?* and of the unquestionableness, and uncontroulableness of his Authority, he further addeth, *The wrath of a King is as the roaring of a Lion; who shall stir him up?*

Things depending on another, are governed by that on which they depend; this is undeniable. Thus the Lives, and Liberties of Subjects, do depend upon the good, or evil Will of their Prince. And thus much *Pilate* could alledge to our Blessed Saviour, that *he had power to condemn him,* and that *he had power to release him*; whereupon our Saviour replied, without any denial, or refusal of the Power, that *he had no power at all, but what was given him from above*; that is, that Power wherewith he was invested, and which he then exercised, under the Roman *Cæsar*, was not only by

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the permission, but also by the Order, and Institution of God.

Were it so, that the Actions of Kings, or their Authority, could be swayed, or byassed, by any other Terrestrial Power whatsoever, except their own: how *Proteus*-like would Government be? How would the Laws of Mercy, and Justice, which are so essential to the Being of a Government, that it cannot subsist without them, be either wrested, or quite antiquated, by the Prevalency of a Party? Admit but this, and then we should soon be sensible of the Prophets complaint, *Justice is gone away backward*; having instead of Law, Rule, and Order, nothing but Noise, Distraction, and Confusion. Which brings me to shew,

3. *That for Subjects to question the Actions, or Authority of their Prince, is diametrally opposite to the Liberty of the Subject.* We are subjected unto lawful Earthly Powers, *That under them we may lead godly, and peaceable lives*, saith the Great Apostle. And that (according to the Prophet) *Every man might sit under his own Vine, and that none might make him afraid.* The enjoyment of our Lives, and our Liberties too, as well in Sacred, as Secular things, next under God, we have from the Prudence of our Prince.

That our Lives have not hitherto been made a Prey to our Enemies, it is, because his Sacred Majesty maintaineth, and defendeth them. That our Liberties, both in Religion, and State, have not long since perished away in our bosoms, it is, because we have a King to actuate, and enliven them.

In a word, That the Allies of *Rome*, or *Geneva*, have not long ere this extirpated the beſt Reformed Church in *Europe*, the Church of *England*; it is, becauſe his Sacred Majeſty, and his Predeceſſors, (and long may He, and His Succeſſors be equally proſperous,) have hitherto diſpelled all thoſe abominable Miſts, of *Schiſm*, *Sacriledge*, and *Idolatry*, which they raiſed amongſt us.

Hitherto I have ſhewed you, That a KING is the Greateſt of all Earthly Bleſſings, the Defence of our Lives, the Bulwark of our Liberties. Surely I need not long ſtand to recommend it to you. How many Hundreds yet alive, have not long ſince ſeen our tumultuous World; wherein tho Religion, and Liberty were the Pretence, yet Prophanity, Atheiſm, and Slavery were the Event? Wherein our greateſt Enjoyment was the bleſſed Hotchpotch of Democracy: and the Ἄκμη of our Devotion (inſtead of our pure, and Primitive Liturgy) was exerciſed in an halting Directory, not only deſtructive of, and contradictory to, all Antiquity, but alſo to it Self. And the wholſom Laws of our Gracious and Natural Sovereign, abrogated together with Himſelf, to make way for worſe. And that which Crown'd the Happineſs, we had *Reformation* thrown amongſt us with a Sword in its hand, to let us ſee how baſely we had abuſed the Power of the Sword, in taking it from him, who alone (by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations,) did juſtly challenge it.

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The abrogation of Civil Power makes every Man *Sui juris:* so that take away the Supreme Power, which is indeed the Life of all Laws, and then all manner of Sins will be venial. Heresie and Schism, Murder, Conspiracy and Rebellion, the blackest Impieties, these will never be boggled at. For indeed, that many Men abstain from the Commission of these Sins, it is not because they are so much afraid of the Justice of God; as of the Severity of the King, who swayeth the Sword of *Justice*, as Gods only Vicegerent. And thus, at the long run, should we be brought into the lamentable condition of the wretched *Hebrews*, of whom we find this Melancholy Complaint registred by the Prophet no less than four times together: that *in those days there was no King in* Israel, *but every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes.* Which seasonably brings me to my Third Proposition, namely to shew, Judg. 17. 6. & 18. 1. & 19. 1. & 21. ult.

3. *That such are the Impetuosities of the Vulgar, that notwithstanding this Sacred Reserve, Majesty it self can scarce any where be inviolable.* Altho God Almighty hath made so good security for his Anointed; tho their Crowns be established by the firm and perpetual Decrees of all Laws, both Divine and Humane: yet there are a sort of Men in the World, and the very Pest they are of all Order and Society, the great Principles of whose Religion, are to vilifie and blaspheme Magistracy, and to trample upon and contemn all that is Sacred and Venerable; purchasing to themselves the Applause of the Popularity by wild *Utopian* Notions, where-

with they do eaſily prevail upon, and ſeduce the giddy Multitude.

And there is nothing vented, tho never ſo extravagant and phrenetical, but ſome will countenance it. The moſt Lunatic Fancies being once broached, do not long want Abettors. And hence there are ſeveral Objections raiſed, to ſtrengthen this Antimonarchical Fabrick.

1. They object, *Regem eſſe infra non ſupra Eccleſiam.* This Objection is equally aſſerted, both by the *Romiſh* and Reformed Party: the one endeavouring hereby to magnifie the Power of him who treadeth upon the Necks of Kings, tho he was anciently wont, and ſtill his Duty is the ſame, to embrace their Feet: the other hereby ſtriving to vindicate the Supream Power of *Claſſes* and *Synods.* And the Anſwer of the one, will be the ſufficient conviction of either.

But firſt, it will be neceſſary to ask, Whether by the Church, they mean the *Catholic*, or ſome part of it only?

If they mean the *Catholic Church*, then we muſt needs confeſs, that no King is above, but within it: ſeeing it never yet was, nor never can be under the Power of any Earthly Monarch. When they have ſaid what they can for the Popes Supremacy, we believe, that the *Catholic Church* oweth Fealty to none, but only to Him who rightly is the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Neither can it be ſuppoſed to have any Viſible Head, except in a Council truly General,

General, and that Headship can only remain *Pro tempore Concilii.*

But if by the word *Church* be meant any part only of the Catholic, as in particular the Church of *England:* then we own no Head but the *King* alone; and so here will be no work for the Superintendent and his Classis. And if they demand our Reason, for this we remit them to the Canons of our Church, which tell us, *That the Kings of* England *claim no more Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, than the Pious Kings of* Israel, *and the Religious Christian Princes* (even the *Roman* Emperours, for some of the first Centuries) *anciently had.* And till they can shew us a more warrantable Pattern, than the universal Christian Practice of Fifteen Hundred years, and more; they must give us leave to prosecute our Allegiance. Taking this First for granted, they proceed without our allowance, or shew of Reason.

2. To say, that a King must *Servire Ecclesiæ*; which Phrase several Ancient and Pious Authors have used, and to which we assent, if we may have leave to understand it as the Ancients did. But if they go about by this Phrase, to subject a King to the slavish humors of his People, we must take leave to dissent, *Servire Ecclesiæ*, according to the mind of such Authors as use it, is no more than *Necessitatibus Ecclesiæ consulere*, and in this sence the greatest Monarch will not refuse it: this is all that St. *Augustine* meaneth by it; witness himself, *Serviunt enim qui imperant, officio consulendi, &*

provi-

providendi Miſericordia. This is all that the Pagan Authors mean, when they render *Imperium, Servitutem.* Thus therefore, if they will allow us to interpret we are agreed: but if they will not, we muſt needs ſay, they are very bad Etymologiſts, in ſtriving to frame ſuch *Sences*, with which Antiquity is utterly unacquainted.

3. They allow a Power, (if the King do not in their ſence, *Servire Eccleſiæ*) to Subordinate Magiſtrates, to correct the Miſcarriages of Princes. A moſt unjuſt and unequal Priviledge! What is meant by Subordinate Magiſtrates, we ſuppoſe to be ſuch Perſons as have received Authority from the King; let them act in what capacity ſoever, either in Church, or State. And theſe Inferiour Powers are approved of God: yet ſo, as the Apoſtle ſeemeth to make our *Obedience* to the King, and thoſe Inferiour Powers, two different things; to the King we are ſo far enjoyned Obedience, that we cannot poſſibly fail in it, without being abſolutely guilty of Sin; to the Inferiour Magiſtrate, we are obliged, ſo far as his Commands are the ſame with the Kings, or not deſtructive of, or prejudicial to them; which if they be, the ſame Obligation is upon us not to obey, but to appeal to the Greater, *viz.* the King.

1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15.

It is beyond all Controverſie with me, and I hope with all good Men; that tho Inferiour Magiſtrates, with reſpect to Private Perſons, be Publick, yet with reſpect to the King they are Private Perſons. And as it is in the Power of Inferiour Magiſtrates

ſtrates, to take cognizance of, and puniſh the Offences of Private Perſons, ſo doubtleſs is it in the Power of the King, to take cognizance of, and puniſh the Offences of Inferiour Magiſtrates; with reſpect to whom, they are no more than Private Perſons, (as I have already ſhewed,) and ſo liable to be by him puniſhed, for their Miſcarriages, as Private. It would certainly be no ſmall Paradox, to ſay, That the King, having the Supream Power in theſe Kingdoms, (and long may He, and His Lawful Succeſſors, enjoy and exerciſe it,) might not inveſt ſuch Perſons as he ſhould think fit, with Inferiour Magiſtracy, and puniſh them for the Abuſe, or Neglect of the Exerciſe of the Power he hath given them; or degrade, and deveſt them of their Authority.

For further ſatisfaction in this point of the Authority of Supreme, and Subordinate Magiſtrates; I ſhall refer the more Curious, to mine Annotations upon the *Church-Catechiſm* (in the Fifth Commandment,) now under the hands of the *Amanuenſis*; and will (*Bono cum Deo*) be ere long ready for the Preſs.

4. If the Inferiour Magiſtrates be Negligent, then the Paſtors, and People, have ſolemn leave to Depoſe (nay Martyr) Kings, to defend themſelves (in ſuch Unchriſtian Actions) with the Power of the Sword, if their Lives and Conſciences (as they do moſt prepoſterouſly term it) cannot be otherwiſe ſafe from the Tyranny of Kings. A moſt Antichriſtian Principle, and ſuch as might defile the very mouth of *Beelzebub* to pronounce it! *Horreſco referens.* This, and much more ſuch horrid Stuff, may be found in the Commentaries of *Pareus*, upon the 13*th* Chapter to the *Romans*. Neither could it ever have been better confuted, than it was by King *JAMES* of Bleſſed Memory, and the Loyal Univerſity of *Oxford*, who gave Order,

Order, That the Commentaries of *Pareus* ſhould be hurnt (as they well deſerved) in Public, by the hands of the Common Hangman. And for the utter extirpation of ſuch Seditious, Impious, and Antimonarchical Doctrines, it was decreed by the *Oxonian* Univerſity, in a full Convocation, *June* the *5th*, 1622. *That every Perſon that was to be honoured with a Degree, in any Faculty whatſoever, ſhould before Admiſſion Swear*, (in an Oath framed for that very purpoſe) *to alienate ſuch Principles:* As may be ſeen at large in the Decree, and Oath.

5. According to theſe Infernal Principles (in the late Times of Diſtraction) this was uſually their (moſt Illogical) Aſſertion; *That it was lawful to fight againſt the Kings Perſon, with his Power; and that the King might be killed in his Perſonal, or Private Capacity*, (as they called it,) *and yet his Power never the worſe for it, his Authority not ſuffering.* A ſtrange Metaphyſical Notion! And
Rom. 13. ſo likewiſe, that St. *Paul* ſpeaking of Kings, meaneth the Kingly Office, not his Perſon; with much more of this Nature. Thus do they make the King a meer *Platonical* Idea, a Quality, not a Perſonal Subſiſtence: As if the King of *England* were nothing but *CAROLUS REX* written in Court-hand, without either Fleſh or Blood. If it be ſo, to what purpoſe are thoſe ſignificant Solemnities uſed at the Coronations? Why are they Crown'd, Inthroned, Inoyled? but to ſhew their Perſonal, and Imperial Power and Supremacy: in Military,

Military, Judiciary, and Religious Matters. That the Kings Authority may be where his Person is not (if this be their meaning) is most true; but, that his Person may be where his Authority is not, is most false: And a King without Personal Authority, is a Contradiction, and no King. How dull were the Primitive Christians, that could not bethink themselves of this Distinction! what Blood and Martyrdom might it have saved? But let these faint Chimera's vanish.

6. They say, that *if we ascribe so much Power to the King, Religion cannot be safe, but that he may alter it at his Pleasure.* And so He may: Neither is the Power of Kings in any thing more visible, than in establishing such Modes of Public Worship, as they think fit. This is sufficiently asserted, and maintained by the most Political Authors that hitherto I have met withal. Were not the Religious Rites in *Judea* altered, according to the Genius of the Prince? Thus we find the Rites of *Ahaz* altered by his Son *Ezechias*, which *Manasses* his Nephew again restored, but by *Josias* they were again abolished. Thus, if they demand, why in the Reign of Queen *Mary* the *Romish* Religion, and in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* the Reformed Religion, prevailed? there can be no other Reason be given, but that (next under God) it was *Ex Reginarum Arbitrio.*

It is an Old (and unanswerable) Maxim, *Qualis Rex, Talis Lex.* And if every Magistrate must

be deveſted of his Power, becauſe it is poſſible He may abuſe it, then ſhould we have no Power at all, at leaſt no Exerciſe of Power, there being the ſame Reaſon to fear every Man alike, becauſe the Axiom (*Nemo eſt qui falli nequeat*) includeth all. But why our King may not be intruſted with the ſame Power (ſeeing he cannot well uſe it worſe) wherewith they durſt intruſt their Protector, is a Paradox to me.

Or, ſuppoſe this ſhould fall out (which always doth not) that a King ſhould alter the received Religion; yet may we have ſufficient comfort, if we conſider, that *the Hearts of all Men are in the hand of the Lord*, but more eſpecially are the *Hearts of Kings* in his Power, and *as the Rivers of water, he can turn them as he pleaſeth.* It is Gods work (you hear) to ſway the Inclinations of Kings, let us then beware how we meddle in it. His Power is ſo unſpeakable, that he can equally effect his Will, as well by Evil, as by Good Kings.

Prov. 21. 1.

Sometimes *Proſperity*, and ſometimes *Adverſity* is more profitable for the Church. And if the Prince be Pious, then the Truth flouriſheth under him: and if he be Ungodly, it will be Evil for the Church, but worſe for him, whoſe Condemnation ſhall One day be augmented, anſwerably to the greatneſs of his Charge. And in the mean time, *Rebellion* will be ſo far from being agreeable, that it will every way be contradictory to a Chriſtian Profeſſion. Well ſaid Saint *Auguſtine*,

Reges

Reges cum in errore sunt, pro ipso errore leges contra veritatem ferunt; cum in veritate sunt, similiter contra errorem pro ipsa veritate decernunt; ita & legibus malis probantur boni, & legibus bonis emendantur mali. But I hast to my Fourth and Last Proposition, namely, August. *adsus* Crescon. *l.3 ch.51.*

4. *That since the Persons, and Powers of KINGS are esteemed Sacred, both by the Laws of God, Nature, and all Nations; to exhort all Men, that they be to the utmost of their Power careful not to violate so great a Priviledge.* The Duty of Obedience to Kings, was a thing so well known, and so firmly believed in the Primitive Times, that the Christians then stood in need of no other Arguments to perswade them to it, but such as Christ and his Apostles left upon Record. And seeing that those who lived so near the Apostles Days, were so extraordinarily tenacious of this Duty: it raiseth Admiration in me, to consider, That some Men amongst us, who do (at least) pretend to as great Sanctity as ever any Primitive Christian had, should go about to raise Arguments, to defend their Taking up of Arms against their Lawful (and Christian) Princes, from the same Sacred Scriptures, which the Ancients thought laid sufficient Obligation upon them (as I have largely shewed in the preceding Parts of this Discourse) to obey even the worst of Heathen Powers.

That both God, Nature, and Nations, have priviledged Kings, I have already fully ſhewed, and I truſt ſo fully, as to render it (however to all good Men) indubitable; the Authorities that I have made uſe of, are ſuch as are altogether unqueſtionable. For next to the Sacred Scriptures, which we all equally own, and adhere unto, I have urged only ſuch General Councils, and Ancient Synods, as have hitherto been approved by the whole Chriſtian World. And for the Teſtimonies of the Fathers, or Others that I have uſed, they are from the beſt and moſt Authentic Editions.

However therefore this Diſcourſe may reliſh, it concerneth not me; ſeeing that I am aſſured, that I have all along Impartially ſpoken the Mind of the *Catholic Church.* And that to this very day, there hath not been a General Council, truly ſo named; or any other Ancient (tho not Oecumenical) Synod, duly, and regularly called, and debating; or an Authentic Copy of any Father; that have delivered otherwiſe. If our Adverſaries can produce the contrary, we challenge them in the Name of God to do it: if they cannot(which is I am certain much more eaſie,) then let their Brainſick Notions ceaſe to be impoſed upon the Vulgar Multitude; who are more apt to be taken with Flatteries of their Chimerical Greatneſs, and Supremacy; with Noiſe, and Impudence; than with any ſober Reaſon, or ſound Arguments.

But

But let Us, who have so good Authority for our Warrant, as the Voice, and Universal Practice of the Primitive Church, resolve (in spight of all Contradiction) to be ever Conscious of our Duty.

Methinks, the very consideration of our Interest, and Society, should put us in mind of Subjection: for what a Polity else should we make? what greater Solœcism could we grant in Nature, than that the Head should give place to the Supremacy of the Foot? Tho it be true (as the Apostle observeth) that in the Body, no one Member can be without another; yet for the Inferiour to go about to usurp the Office, and Power of the Superiour, must needs make a Privation, and so leave some place unfilled; to which Philosophy will in no wise yield. There are not the most uncivilized of all People, but they have something of Subordination: how much more then ought we to do that, which not only Nature, but God, and the Law of Nations, have enjoyned.

And if our Interest cannot draw us, let the Examples of our Saviour, and the Primitive Christians, persuade us; And if these be not sufficient to sway us, let the Eternal Rewards of Grace entice us; nay, since God Almighty hath made such Sacred Defences for Kings, let the Majesty of their Countenances dash our daring Fancies into due Allegiance and Subjection.

A good Chriſtian, and a good Subject, are Reciprocals; the one being not poſſible to be found without the other. And if we have love for our great Maſter, we can no way better manifeſt it, than by yielding a full Subjection to ſuch Powers as he hath ordained to fill his Room, till Himſelf come, whoſe all *Power* truly is, and to whom all *Authority* doth rightly belong.

Let us therefore ſtrive by Obedience to our Prince, to regain that Honour and Credit, which our Nation by Diſobedience hath ſo lately loſt. We may juſtly ſay, That (with our Royal Prophet) *we are become the very Scorn and Deriſion of them that are round about us*; but let us beſeech God (with our Royal *CHARLES* the Martyr) not to lay that Innocent Blood unto our charge. And for the future, let us be active in repairing thoſe Breaches of Loyalty, which the Father moſt rightly claimed, for the Son. And let us not ſuffer our ſelves any more to be deluded, with the Vanities of thoſe Men, who (under the empty Notions, and ſpecious Titles of Chriſts Kingdom, Liberty, and Reformation,) Preached up nothing amongſt us, but Hypocriſie, Rebellion, and Confuſion.

Laſtly, Let theſe miſerable Calamities, under which we ſo lately groaned, be a further Incentive of Loyalty to us. Let us think of them, and I queſtion not, they will be a means to make us Reſolve, to ſtand by our Prince with our Lives and our Fortunes. And to animate us in ſo indiſpenſible a Duty, let us beg of God to continue us in the

True

True Religion, which at this Day by Law we profess; and then we need not to question, but the sence of our Duty, will add strength and perseverance to our Loyalty. *Which* (that it may do) *God of his great Mercy grant for Jesus Christ's sake: To whom with Thee, O Father, and Thee, O Blessed Spirit; Three Persons, but One Immutable GOD, be given of the Holy Catholic Church, all Power, Praise, and Glory, World without End,* Amen, Amen.

FINIS.

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